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A presentation on socio-cultural-attitudinal characteristics of migrants and the impact of education is one of a series of lectures given during the pre-service phase of a 2-year Teacher Corps training program. An outline of the cultural differences which exist between the Mexican American and the Anglo American reveals differences in personality characteristics and modes of life style. Problems are described which the Mexican American encounters in the process of acculturation, and programs are suggested which are designed to satisfy the needs of the Mexican American and to give him a positive image of his cultural heritage. Interview summaries and schedule, and worksheet scales used in the pre-service phase of the program are included. Related documents are RC 003 081 and RC 003 082. (SW)

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First Papers on Migrancy and Rural Poverty

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EDUCATION OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN RURAL AREAS

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Attitudinal Characteristics of Migrant Farm Workers

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FIRST PAPERS ON MIGRANCY AND RURAL POVERTY:

An Introduction to the Education of Mexican-Americans in Rural Areas

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT FARM WORKERS

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"The modern locus of poverty is even more the rural than the urban slum."

John Kenneth Galbraith,
The Affluent Society

These papers are dedicated to Irving R. Melbo, Dean of the School of Education at the University of Southern California and to Donald E. Wilson, Director of Teacher Education, who, because of their leadership and commitment to the cause of quality education have made Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant a working reality.

PREFACE

CHARACTERISTICS

ATTITUDINAL SURVEY OF MIGRANT FARM WORKERS

Inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of migrant children are Mexican-American, we felt it was of the greatest necessity, in the pre-service phase of Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant, to include an approach to a better understanding of their socio-cultural environment. This paper is not concerned with curriculum development in the education of these children, although that need, too, is obvious. Rather, it is an attempt to outline the cultural differences which exist between the Mexican-American and the Anglo-American, with the resultant differences in personality characteristics and modes of life style. Inherent in these differences are the problems which the Mexican-American must encounter in the process of acculturation.

It is difficult for all peoples to span cultural discontinunities, but it creates particular stress on the child. Usually the adult can retain his identity in his own ethnic and cultural cluster, but the child is still in the process of learning his role in relation to his environment. He is caught between the culture of his home and the culture of the school, forever forced to choose between conflicting sets of values. As educators, it is imperative that we be deeply aware of the impact that such conflict has on the personality of the child and that we do all in our power to help ease the transition from one socio-cultural setting to another. It is only when we have this awareness, together with a desire to help alleviate the anxiety and suffering involved in the acculturation process, that we will be able to move with any success into the teacher-student relationship.

In addition to the difficulties arising from the cultural factors

discussed here, it is necessary to remember that the Mexican-American migrant child is faced with all the further problems concomitant with his mobility and the low economic level at which he lives. The culture of poverty cuts across all other cultures. Some of the traits and characteristics of the Mexican-American child can be ascribed to the factors operative in any environment where there is severe economic deprivation. To cope with such a combination of obstacles in the learning situation will require great imagination and the development of different types of educational programs than the ones in effect in our schools today.

FOREWORD

FIRST PAPERS ON MIGRANCY AND RURAL POVERTY: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EDUCATION OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN RURAL AREAS

There are 11 million "invisible" Americans. They are the rural poor. Theirs is the culture of poverty. Their unseen legions include more than two million Spanish-speaking, Mexican-American migrant farm workers who live in the five Southwestern states. Though the culture of poverty cuts across all other cultures (hunger and hopelessness are great equalizers) these low-income Mexican-Americans face uniquely complex problems. Often they do not speak English; their children are virtually untouched by existing school programs; their lack of job skills and the increasing technification of agriculture lead them, inevitably, to become clients of social welfare agencies. Rootless, socially and economically disoriented, they represent a tragic loss in human resources.

Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant at the University of Southern California strongly believes that teacher education programs must take the initiative in developing realistic new approaches to the education process, if there is to be an escape hatch from the life-style that is poverty.

And so we have developed a highly innovative, challenging two-year teacher training program that is already proving itself workable in reaching and teaching the children of poverty. A pre-service orientation period is followed by "live" experiences in school and community activities. Professors commute the 200 miles from USC to the Tulare County project site (in California's San Joaquin Valley) so interns can complete university coursework in the realistic setting of school and community. At the conclusion of the intensive two-year program, candidates are qualified to receive the Master of Science Degree in Education, the Certificate to Teach

English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and a California Teaching Credential in elementary or secondary education.

The pre-service phase of this program has been designed to create understanding of differences between cultures and to define the teacher's newly emerging role as a translator of community expectations...a friend who knows his way around the culture...for Spanish-speaking migrant and seasonal farm workers and others who are disadvantaged.

Guest lecturers representing a variety of educational disciplines, programs, and agencies were invited to participate in the pre-service orientation. These "First Papers on Rural Poverty and Migrancy" are a compendium of their presentations. We feel they will be of widespread interest to those concerned with the educational needs of families who follow the crops.

The papers are presented in separate interest areas; socio-cultural-attitudinal characteristics of migrants and the impact of education; theories and realities of the migrant condition as viewed by various agencies and programs; and the development of cultural understanding and empathy through an awareness of and sensitivity to the problems of those who are culturally "different." A bibliography, and other papers will be published at later dates.

These materials were prepared for publication by Shirley Josephs, Co-ordinator of Program Development for Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant, assisted by Harriet Borson and Mary Heiman.

Patricia Heffernan Cabrera
Director, Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant
University of Southern California

CHARACTERISTICS

ATTITUDINAL SURVEY OF MIGRANT FARM WORKERS

Horacio Ulibarri

INTRODUCTION

It seems to me that it is necessary to understand the basis of cultural differences in order to be able to understand the problem of acculturation of any minority group. Although all minorities suffer from some of the same problems and handicaps, each group reacts in its own particular and unique way. In order to discover the reasons for this, the history and the culture of both the minority and the dominant groups, and the ways in which they differ, must be understood.

In talking about cultural differences, I want to emphasize one thing very strongly. There is no such thing as one culture being better than another. It is a mistake to analyze the culture from outside criteria. It should be analyzed from theories within the culture itself. Cultures have been developed through a process of trial and error. The people have adapted themselves in the best way they could to survive within a given situation. We can say arbitrarily that culture A is a higher level of culture than culture B, but we are emotionally committed and it is only natural to be ethnocentric.

The problems of acculturation of the Mexican-American migrant worker arise basically because of the disfunctions between the social system in which he is forced to operate in this country and the value system to which he is emotionally committed. Education can be the means through which the transition can be made from operating strictly in the Mexican or Mexican-American socio-cultural environment to successful participation in both the Mexican and Anglo-American culture. So far education has failed

miserably to accomplish this goal.

The remarks which I will make will represent an attempt to activate your sensitivity toward all Spanish-speaking students, from the beginning child in kindergarten to the man or woman on the adult education level. Over and beyond professional qualifications, we need teachers who understand the socio-cultural conditions of the Mexican-American and who are aware of the implications of these socio-cultural factors in the education of their students. We need teachers who have developed a genuine respect for the values and orientations of the migrant worker and his children. In short, we need, not sympathetic teachers, but <u>empathetic</u> teachers.

CULTURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The term culture refers to the customs, attitudes, beliefs, habits, artifacts and traditions of a particular people. The experiences an individual has, the standards required of him, the values, morals and type of behavior demanded from him, are all largely determined by the culture within which the individual is born and lives.

Just as each culture has its distinctive pattern, it also has its own social structure. Each person within a society is assigned a status. In any one man's life there is usually one principal status by which that individual is identified, but he may have several other statuses as well -- age status, sex status, social status, etc.

The individual is assigned a role within each one of the statuses that he occupies. Every single role has been predetermined by the culture in which the individual is living. For example, the typical role of the father in the American family is that of provider. He is the reward giver and the punishing person. The concept of roles is an intriguing one and there is a greal deal of work being done at the present time in the area of role

definition.

There are certain basic areas to be found in every culture -- the institutional areas, so termed because they have been with us from all time. These institutional areas encompass religion, family, education, economics, health, politics and recreation. Each of these teaches us certain values, not so much in the sense of right and wrong, but in terms of the faith, obligation and responsibility that we should feel. These values are instrumental toward attaining goals in life. In any one culture there is one outstanding institution, the center or focal point around which all the culture revolves. Let's call it the pillar institution. Even though the institutions are the same we find cultural differences. These differences stem from two factors: a difference in needs or in the goals of life, and a difference in the pillar institutions.

Man's Needs

Each individual has a set of needs. Maslow[1] has divided the human needs into three classifications:

1. Innate needs, or those we are born with, such as the need for food, water, sex.

2. Social needs, or those which have been defined by the society as necessary, such as the need for security and safety, the need for affection, love, respect for others.

3. Equalistic needs, which are the needs of the personality, such as needs for prestige, self-respect, self-accomplishment, independence, and freedom.

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[1] Maslow, Abraham (1954) Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper and Row.

It must be remembered that this classification of needs originates with Maslow, the middle-class college professor. We have need dispositions that arise from the roles that an individual is expected to play. How that individual knows the need dispositions comes from the teachings of his culture. For example, the need for independence and freedom for the individual is a very strong differentiating factor between the Latin-American culture and the Anglo-American culture. The Agency for International Development does not understand this. They want to impose a democracy on every single Latin-American country, and those people are not oriented for independence and freedom. They have been oriented, because of the Catholic Church, because of the feudal system, toward reliance on the patron. To some extent we have this among the Mexican-Americans here in the United States.

Many of the social scientists say that the prime motivation of man is really self-preservation. The need dispositions geared toward self-preservation are basic and material. For example, the need disposition to satisfy hunger pangs or the elimination process is a basic and material fact. However, as we begin to develop an increasing degree of maturity, our self-preservation needs, while never eliminated, are relegated to a second place. The important things become the things spiritual in the broadest sense -- love, affection, self-respect.

There seems to be an invisible line at which man satisfies his basic needs. It is a line that fluctuates up and down and varies between people and cultures. But there is a basic level at which basic needs are satisfied. The higher up we rise from that level, the more positive our orientations and values become. We know what we believe and why we believe. The reverse is also true. The further the drop from that basic level, the more negative our orientations become. Finally we come to a point way down

at rock bottom. Here we find people existing in an animal state -- seeking only sustenance. Only well-fed people can indulge in the luxury of being safe and secure. There are no ideals in an empty stomach. This is one of the very big problems we have in the education of seasional workers -- their line is way down and they have existed way down there for a long time. They don't have the typical orientations of the Mexican. They don't have the orientations of the Anglo culture in which they are asked to live. *They have the orientations of the people in the culture of poverty. This culture cuts across just about any type of ethnic group.*

Emotional Commitments

There are two prerequisites for an individual to belong to any one culture. First, he has to know the culture. But that in itself is not enough. He has to be emotionally committed to that culture.

Let me use myself as an example. I was born and raised in New Mexico in the so-called Spanish-American culture. My parents never spoke or read English. My mother graduated from fourth grade. My father never attended school. Their attitudes, their value orientation, their behavior all were those that characterize the Spanish-American culture. Because of my education, I have come to know the middle-class, Anglo-American culture. I know pretty well the culture of the Pueblo Indians along the Rio Grande and I have a nodding acquaintance with the culture of the Navajos. Now, to which culture do I belong? The answer is very simple. I belong to the culture to which I am emotionally committed. I happen to be emotionally committed to the middle-class, Anglo-American culture. Because of my sociological orientations I have not lost contact with the people from where I come, but I do not operate like my father used to operate. My father was a cooperative, present-time-oriented individual. Me? I am a future-time-oriented,

aggressive, competitive individual -- typically middle-class-Anglo-American.

There are three basic factors inherent in a culture: the area of beliefs, the area of behavior, the area of artifacts. What I'm interested in projecting is the area of emotional commitment. For example, when we say the American people are competitive in orientation, we are talking about an emotional commitment toward competition. I don't think that there are more fervent golf players than the American people, and the reason is that this is the one game in which the individual can cheat against himself. That is how far we take our commitment to competition.

There is an area of very light commitments. I have a pen here and if you ask to borrow a pen I will lend you this one. People have a tendency to keep pens, but I'm not too emotionally committed to this one. I have another pen, however, to which I am emotionally committed because my little girl gave it to me for my birthday. Now we are in the area of artifacts. The area of beliefs is the same. We have an interrelationship among all of them. Beliefs tend to produce certain types of behaviors. Behaviors then develop artifacts. Actually, it's a conglomeration of all.

How do we get our emotional commitments? Remember that the cognitive area is taught, the emotional area is taught. To attempt to define emotional commitments, we must go back to the child personality theory. The psychologists say that by school age a child's basic personality is developed. Personality entails two things: (1) certain areas of cognition -- knowing the roles he is supposed to play, and (2) emotional commitments toward the culture and toward society that spell out attitudes. Each culture has its distinctive values, morals and ways of behaving. It dictates the rules for child training and the relationships within a family. The child who has read the messages right and has acquired the personality traits

characteristic of the members of his culture has developed an integrated personality. The child who does not read the messages right or who has not become emotionally committed to the messages he is receiving develops a somewhat thwarted personality.

The family exerts many cultural influences since it is largely responsible for the environment of the child during his early years. The parents are the ones who decide how cultural standards are to be imposed to and adhered to, and, through a system of rewards and punishments, they socialize the child.

Folkways, mores, law and religion are the four basic elements in the system of rewards and punishments. What are folkways? Folkways are the ways in which things are done. If the person plays the role correctly we praise him. If he plays it incorrectly, we are critical of him. The majority of us behave the way we do because we are deathly afraid of what people will say about us. In the area of mores, there are both the formal and informal moral codes. For example, you as a teacher will teach the child but not so much that you will trespass into the domain of next year's teacher. If you did that, you would be gossiped about because you had violated the moral code of teachers. Law is a means of social control. The laws concern themselves with society's protection and with the punishments of those individuals who threaten that protection. Religion is the strongest element, and it permeates all the others. Religion for most of us is a kind of mysticism. The final reward for being good is to walk on streets paved with gold, or the obtainment of all the knowledge we have ever wanted to obtain, a personalized heaven of sorts. The stimulus response psychology enters here -- do something right and you are rewarded, or do it wrong and you are punished. The more we make an individual feel the

value of a particular behavior, of an artifact, or a belief, the more the individual becomes emotionally committed.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Family

We have mentioned that in any one culture there is a pillar institution. Among the Spanish-speaking the pillar institution is the family. Everything revolves around the family. Here in the United States the pillar institution is economics. Everything, even religion, revolves around economics. The American people provide for the nucleus family and provide very adequately. But that is as far as it goes. We think in terms of the father's obligation to provide the son with an education or a vocation so that he can launch off for himself after a given age. There is no reciprocity, so that often we find fairly well-to-do people placing their parents in old-age homes. In Northern New Mexico (which has about the oldest Spanish-speaking culture in the United States) for the 300 years that we were left to ourselves, we didn't have a single old-age home. We did not have an orphanage. We did not have a penitentiary. We did not have those things until the Anglo influx. Why? Because within the extended family we did not have any welfare. Everybody within the extended family was cared for. But this type of institution can survive only in a subsistence type of economy. By subsistence-type of economy, I mean one where enough was taken from nature, enough was raised to sustain only the family, not to sell in the open market. When we moved from a subsistence-type of economy into a profit-making economy, the extended family started to vanish. Defined from an economics perspective, the extended family is one in which each member works to the limit of his capacity and each member partakes from the

harvest to the extent of his needs. Here are the beginnings of the cultural differences that we have.

Familism is a very strong value, and a very positive value viewed from a certain perspective, but it has its extremes. Who is the most important person within the extended family? It is the individual, and each individual in the family has to have special treatment. What does familism do for society? It fragments society into a thousand pieces. This is what produces the fragmentation of the Latin countries -- from political and economic viewpoints. If an issue is of no import to the individual or to his family, he is not interested. This prevents the people from having a social conscience. This is a reason why the Latin people are unable to get together and form a coalition. The Spanish-speaking people are so fragmented in political matters, that although they are a good percentage of the population, they cannot present a solid front. In New Mexico and in California the Spanish-speaking don't need demonstrations. They need to get together and go to the polls. But present-time orientation and familism prevent this.

Present-Time Orientation

The higher the social class status of the individual, whether of the Mexican-American or the Anglo-American culture, the broader is his time orientation. What makes the Mexican-American different regarding time orientation is the fact that the majority belong to the lower classes of society and so are oriented to the present time. The typical Mexican-American works to satisfy his present needs, regardless of how long the hours or how laborious the work, but he does not project himself into the future. This orientation gives rise to the expression "lazy Mexican." The Mexican feeling is that if there is no work to be done, it is all right to

enjoy oneself. The Anglos, out of their Puritannical heritage, have the approach "Work for work's sake" which is an orientation against doing nothing.

Goals

The goal of life of the majority of the people in the United States (there are many exceptions, of course, but we are speaking of the great majority) is to achieve material comfort. The Spanish speaking are oriented for a life hereafter. It is said that the Spanish-speaking are obsessed with death, not in a fearful sense, but looking forward to the day when they can knock at the pearly gates and say, "St. Peter, here I am." This is different from the Anglo-American orientation, which is to accumulate the material things in life through competition, cutting a few throats if necessary, until you have enough wealth that you can build a few libraries and then sneak in the gates. The acculturated, educated Mexican-American finds himself in conflict over which route to take, and his thinking often becomes confused.

Dependency

Another orientation of the Mexican-American is dependency. This is a historical fact that has developed into a cultural characteristic. Dependency has to do with the church and with economics. The church stipulated that members had to follow with "blind faith." It was not a sin to doubt, but it was sin to sustain doubts. This developed dependency of thinking.

The feudal system was prevalent in Spain at the time of the discovery of the Americas and was transported almost intact into Mexico. This developed into the patron system. The feudal system and the Catholic church combined forces and worked to the best interests of the landed gentry.

Education affected their interests adversely. What kind of independence can you develop in ignorant people? This is the basic reason why you cannot have democracy in Latin countries. People who cannot assume responsibility are a dependent people.

Achievement vs. Ascription

The Anglo-American orientation is toward achievement and success. For example, when I am introduced to someone I am introduced as "Dr. So-and-So," who works for the University of New Mexico. That typifies the achievement aspect. Ascription, on the other hand, tends to take a look at the person, not for what he has done, but for what he is innately. Let us look at the typical Spanish-speaking person who has earned himself one or two degrees, perhaps as many degrees as a thermometer. He comes from a home of uneducated parents in an uneducated community. When he returns, all will be very friendly and genuinely happy to see him, but it will be because of blood lines and not because of what he has done or has become. This is typical of Spanish-speaking cultures. Spanish-speaking groups are oriented toward ascription.

Specificity and Diffuseness in Role Definition

Role playing is a question of imagination. We play a role for someone else and are rewarded or punished by them depending on the quality of our performance. Previous experience and the silent language, which is all part of knowing the culture, give indication to the role player of whether he is playing the role successfully as far as the recipient is concerned. The Anglo society has clearcut and well-defined roles, but the Mexican culture has very diffuse role definition. For example, in the United States we would condemn a chemistry professor who, in his chemistry class, gives

a lecture on morality. We don't expect him to do that. It is not his function within his particular job specification. This would not be so in the Latin culture. At one and the same time you are supposed to be a friend, a protector, a critic and an adversary of the same person. The role is a very diffused one.

Universalism vs. Particularism

The Anglo society wants the norms by which roles are played to be applied universally, while the Mexican culture places the highest value on the orientation of personalism. The Anglo-American looks at the thing in a global manner -- at the whole thing. For the Latin it is the opposite. This question of individualism is closely tied in with familism. The Latin may see the whole thing, but is not as emotionally committed to the "whole" thing as he is to the particular elements. The orientation is that the individual parts are more important than the whole.

Interpretation of Natural Phenomena

Interpretation of natural phenomena in a mythical, supernatural fashion is not peculiar to the Latin culture only. Again, it is still found in many of the lower classes in every culture. However, in the middle-class orientation there must be a scientific explanation, or the phenomenon doesn't exist. An example is found in this little story. Two boys are walking in the woods at night. Suddenly they see a light. The Mexican-American boy, a bracero, says, "It is a witch." This is a good enough explanation for him. The Anglo-middle-class boy says, "I don't think it's a witch. It's a coyote with the moon reflecting in his eyes." The Mexican-American boy responds, "It's only one light. Does the coyote have only one eye?" This typifies the difference. If the Anglo can't find an explanation for a

natural phenomenon, it does not exist.

ACCULTURATION

Definition

Acculturation is the process by which an individual moves in his behavior from one socio-cultural setting to another. It is a complex phenomenon to analyze and to observe because we are dealing at the emotional level of the people. The problems accompanying acculturation are very, very much evident in the parents of the children you are going to be teaching, and of course this is going to be reflected in the children's attitudes as they come to you in school.

In 1845 the Mexican-American War provided the first major impact of another culture in the Southwest. It was a military and an economic culture, in contrast to the subsistence-type culture in which the Mexicans in that area had been living. The intruding culture set the law for land-title registration, and because the Spanish-speaking culture did not understand this law, they lost thousands of acres of fertile farm land to the Anglos. In 1910 Mexico exploded in revolution and remained in a state of civil war until 1925. Mexicans fleeing the Revolution migrated into the Southwest. During World War I, they worked chiefly in American agriculture. They were, in the large part, peons from the farms and small towns of Mexico.

What happened was that the Spanish people began to lose their economic base. If the culture does not have the economic base to support its way of life and has to go to another culture, it becomes subservient to the majority culture which provides the support. The Spanish people now had to work at a certain time, dress in a certain way and speak the language of the boss. They had to start to think in the way of the majority culture.

This then is really the basis for acculturation. No one wants to acculturate; acculturation happens out of necessity.

Acculturation can be viewed as a continuum. At one extreme, one finds the individual in a state of confusion, possibly in a state of cultural shock. He still speaks only Spanish and is identified completely with the Mexican culture. In the second stage, he has learned English. In the third stage the individual is utterly lost. He is attempting to move from the Mexican setting into the Anglo setting and is operating under schizophrenic conditions. In the fourth stage, he is more Anglo than the Anglo. The individuals who have made it to the fifth stage are, to my way of thinking, the dangerous group. They have gone through all the steps listed previously. They have acquired their niches in the Anglo world. Their sons and their daughters have gone to college. They are accepted by the Anglos, accepted by the Mexicans, and now some type of guilt feeling begins. They feel that somehow, somewhere they have cheated, stepped on other people, taken advantage of their families, etc. There is a compulsion to go back to their original setting -- a kind of pseudocultural regression, where they try to be more Mexican than their forefathers. Finally, in the sixth stage we have the truly bicultural individual.

Conflicting Values

We have talked about the disparity between the demands of the Anglo society and the basic values to which the traditional Mexican culture adheres. The Anglo-American society wants the individual to be oriented toward achievement and success; the traditional Mexican culture's orientation is toward ascription. The Mexican culture values the orientation of personalism, of individualism; the Anglo society has the universal approach.

As an example, let's take the areas of family and religion, and illustrate the conflict in those areas by the following story: Farmer's boy meets farmer's girl at the school both are attending. They fall in love, get married, find themselves with a "golden nugget" nine months later and are elated. A generalization among a great percentage of Mexicans is the saying, "A good Mexican is a good Catholic." This saying is an indication of the high value placed on family. A good family man has to have many children. At any rate, after the first elation begins to wear away, they find having the baby costs money and raising the baby costs money. The girl had ambitions to be a teacher, but drops school because she can't afford child care. The boy keeps on with school. A year later and another "nugget" (this one not so golden) and the boy faces the harsh realization that if this keeps on he will have to accept a life-time job at a low pay scale instead of doing what he wants. This is a big decision. Should he continue his Mexican-American orientation, i.e., be a good Catholic and not practice birth control, or should he forsake this emotional commitment for the Anglo standards toward which he has sacrificed time and money and undergone personal hardships? This is a tremendous decision for that boy to make and can produce tremendous trauma. To want one thing and not to be able to have it without giving up the other tears the individual apart.

When the individual tries to operate in both cultures at the same time, personality dislocation takes place, giving rise to confusion and at times to complete disorientation of values. Whenever this dislocation hits, people invariably succumb to the baser elements or types of behavior. Alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, and other types of baser behavior are exemplified by those people caught in complete conflict -- neither Mexican nor Gringo.

Conflicts Between Home and School

The home and the school create a conflict in the roles that Mexican-American children are asked to play. At home they still have the values of the mother and the father. At school they are presented with a new set of things to do, a new set of values. As middle-class Anglo teachers there are things we would like to develop in all children, regardless of their origins. The emotional commitments of the home begin to fade away because, to insure psychological survival in the school, these children must absorb and internalize the values of the school. But they cannot understand in depth the full significance of what they are trying to simulate in school. The net result is they find themselves in a no-man's land.

In the process of acculturation every single Mexican-American is just plain ashamed of having a Mexican ancestry. We in school have made them ashamed of being Mexican. While other groups such as Scandinavians, Dutch, etc. are proud of their lineage, the Mexicans have been made to feel ashamed and this is the cruelest thing that could have been done. In the schools the kids are told to get a good education. "Do you want to grow up to be a sheepherder, a garbage collector, a bean picker?" The father usually is a sheepherder, a garbage collector, or a bean picker. These well-meaning remarks of the sophisticated teacher cause the child trouble. If the schools would give high aspirational levels without undermining the value of the father, they could succeed in getting the seasonal worker's son with a lot of potential to college in spite of the many obstacles.

There are now more than one-and-a-half million children with Spanish surnames in the schools of the five Southwestern states. Most of these are Mexican-Americans. In scholastic attainment they lag far behind their Anglo counterparts and they lag for one main reason -- language. But important

as it is, this is only a simple answer to this mass under-achievement. You can learn how to teach English as a second language in a few months. And you will teach it very well. Of all the problems related to the education of these children, bilingualism is the easiest to see; therefore it is the only thing in the thinking of a lot of people. But it is not the only thing. The deep personality problems, the attitudes of the parents -- these are the hardest to hit and these prevent us from doing a good job in the area of developing programs that are best for the Mexican-Americans.

Discrimination

What happens to an individual in the process of acculturation when we add the dimension of discrimination? Let us define discrimination as denying an individual his individuality and treating him as a category -- e.g., all Negroes are .....; all Mexicans are .....

While it is true that minority groups stratify themselves, using the same criteria that majority groups employ, the majority relegates low status to the minority group as compared to the status relative to the same social class of the majority group. For example, the "poor white trash" of the south, according to all criteria, should be in the same strata as the Negro sharecropper, but he stratifies the Negro as belonging to a lower social class. The Anglo professional will relegate a lower social class to a Mexican with comparable professional status. Education seems to be the notable exception in that there is less discrimination.

Stereotypes exist in the minds of the majority culture. A school may hire a Negro to coach the football team, but it would not hire a Negro to teach English because of his southern accent -- "All Negroes have Southern accents." A Mexican will be OK for a music teacher -- "All Mexicans sing and play the guitar" -- but he would be no good as a social studies teacher

because he would distort the history of the United States. Society demands equal or higher behavior on the part of the minority group member in the cultural behavior pattern of the majority. This can lead to an inferiority complex in the Mexican-American and severely affect his aspirational level. He won't be too ambitious to attempt too many things because he will fear failure. He wants to be sure that he can succeed and this feeling applies all the way from the handling of farm machinery to applying for professional jobs. People who are afraid of being a failure will only aspire to that which they feel they can attain.

Parents caution their children and don't push them to high aspiration levels because of the fear of failure. It is hard to define failure and to understand what it means and what it does to the personality. We now know that the failure factor brings about the "vicious circle phenomenon." If people in the course of acculturation fail to achieve the norms set by the majority expectations, they develop an inferiority complex. This is used by the majority group as a rationale for discrimination. The logic of "I told you so -- Mexicans are lazy, etc." is thus fostered.

It has been suggested that there be "leadership schools" for the minority. But trained leaders often lose sight of the people they are trained to lead. There comes to be a tremendous gap and they have to struggle not to lose contact.

In the past we have seen two types of leaders rise from the minority groups. First, we have those leaders with tremendous courage and tremendous dedication, willing to sacrifice everything for the cause. Secondly, we have seen leaders without a thing to lose, who profess dedication, but who too often become the rabble rousers.

Maintaining Identity

Acculturation from the philosophical point of view raises the question of how much erosion at the center core of its values a society can stand and still maintain its identity. If a person is different in our present-day society, he is a target for discrimination. But if somehow the factor of discrimination were eliminated, if we could educate people to accept each other, what then?

Much of our planning centers about vocational rehabilitation, but it must be recognized, first, that it is not possible to rehabilitate even the bulk of the Mexican-American workers, and, second, that the great advances in technology being made now, along with those to come in the future, will create ever increasing unemployment problems. The guaranteed income is often mentioned as a step toward the solution of this problem. Why should a person work for every dollar he earns when a machine can do the job better? The Indians in New Mexico are a strong drawing card for tourists because they have retained their culture. Why should they not be repaid for their attractiveness in the form of a guaranteed income? So, if we eliminate the fact of discrimination and give a guaranteed income, there is nothing wrong with the Indian or Mexican retaining his identity as such. Let us admit, however, that this is a pretty far-fetched, unrealistic brand of thinking.

SUMMARY REMARKS

The above discussion has focused on the cultural and personality differences between the Mexican-American and the Anglo-American, with the resultant problems which face the Mexican-American in the process of acculturation. The implications that acculturation has for the education of the Mexican-American are many, some of them obvious and some more subtle. We

need to develop programs that are geared to satisfy his need and to give him a positive image of his cultural heritage. We need education programs that will enforce and reinforce literacy in both languages. Most of all, we need better teachers, teachers who understand the Mexican-American culture, and who are fully aware of the impact of acculturation on the personality.

You, as teachers, must develop in yourselves respect for the way of life and for the values of migrant and seasonal farm workers and their children. The only way to develop this respect is to know, to understand, to be empathetic to them and their way of life. And if you do not have this respect, or if you do not have the capacity to develop it, you have no business going into this field. You are dealing with people who are in the process of transition. If you as teachers do not do your job well, they could be welfare cases, or prisoners in penal institutions. But if you as teachers succeed at your job, if you can reach them, they can well become great Americans.

Editor's Note:

Dr. Ulibarri's studies of low-income Mexican-Americans are based on intensive and comprehensive interviews with migrant and seasonal farm workers in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. Using bilingual researchers, Dr. Ulibarri utilized the Open-End Interview. Because of its flexibility and apparent informality, the Open-End Interview allows feelings and attitudes to be expressed which are usually not measurable on a more structured questionnaire. Though seeking specific kinds of information, the Open-End Interview technique is responsive to the immediate moods and/or preoccupations of the person being interviewed.

The interview schedule and worksheet scales developed by Dr. Ulibarri follow.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

The interviews selected were among those conducted by Dr. Ulibarri during his pre-service presentations for Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant at the University of Southern California. Those interviewed are from the Tulare County area where the Teacher Corps project is located.

Summary of Interview #1

The subject is a 38-year old male Mexican-American born in Texas of parents who had been born in Texas. He has one brother and one sister. He is married and has four children. His father was a crew leader who lived in Laredo, Texas and transported workers back and forth between Wyoming, Nebraska, and Colorado. Sometimes they went as far north as Michigan. The subject's family was a part of the migrant stream and they usually travelled for five or six months a year. His father contracted for the work through offices in Texas.

Q. Who went on the trips to work the crops?

A. Whole families went along.

Q. What were the living conditions?

A. The living conditions were the worst. There was no water -- just stoves and bedding. Sometimes the water would be two blocks away. Now the government has regulations for housing conditions, but the state doesn't impose the regulations.

Q. What do you think is felt by the local people towards the migrants?

A. I don't think the local people feel anything because if they did they would do something about the housing.

Q. What do the migrant workers feel?

A. They feel pretty bad, but they don't have a choice. They have come from Texas and are stuck in the community, wherever they happen to be.

Q. Is there any leadership?

A. There is no leadership. The people don't know where they can go for help to improve their conditions.

Q. Is there help from the Migrant Church Council?

A. There is a Migrant Church Council that gives help if someone is sick.

Q. What happens to little kids? What do parents do with them?

A. The children are not left at home by themselves. The parents take the children to the fields with them.

Q. What is the recreation of the migrant in the camp?

A. There is no recreation. The migrants stay mostly in the camp. The young ones go out on Saturday.

Q. Do the migrants save any money?

A. The people do not earn enough money to save. They need it for food, clothing, and cars. They keep trading to try to get better cars. They don't buy insurance for the cars because they can't afford it. They don't buy a lot of clothes. They don't make enough money.

Q. Explain the not making enough money.

A. It's easy to understand. If they were making enough money, they would have good cars and good clothes. They would only migrate two or three times and then they would have saved enough money to stay in their home state. The life of a migrant is a very hard one.

Q. How do the local merchants react to the migrants?

A. They like the migrants because they bring higher prices to their stores.

Q. Why don't the migrants shop in the chain stores?

A. The migrants don't go to the chain stores because they are scared to go.

Q. Have you ever been a crew leader?

A. No, I have never been a crew leader like my father is. No one likes the crew leaders and they say that the leaders exploit the workers. This is true. The crew leader goes to the farmer and says, "I have twenty people. I'll do the work for this fixed amount." Then the crew leader

keeps half of the money for himself and divides the rest between the workers.

Q. Where is your family now?

A. My wife and four children are in Wisconsin.

Q. What do you do there?

A. I work with the migrant workers in the field. I give legal aid, medical care, and take migrants to the welfare and agency offices. This is difficult to do because the people do not want to fill out the necessary papers. I tell them that it is for their own good and those that know me believe me. The others resent me.

Q. How much education have you had?

A. I had a second grade education up until last year. At that time I took a twenty-week training course with the Colorado Migrant Council. After I completed the course, I took a test and got my high school diploma. Now I will try for a college degree.

Q. What kind of education do you want for your children?

A. I want my children to get all the education that they can and that I can give them.

Q. As a Mexican-American, have you ever encountered discrimination?

A. Yes. Once I was not served in a restaurant, but I did nothing about it.

Q. Do you want your children to maintain their identity -- to keep on being Mexican-Americans?

A. I want my children to keep on being Mexican-American because when they get to be my age it will be different.

Q. How will it be different?

A. I don't know how, but it will be different. Everything is changing. In the last three years all kinds of programs have been started. There are

agencies to help everybody.

Q. What would you like your children to be?

A. I would like my children to be somebody, but it should be what they want to be. I'll try my best for them to get what they want.

Q. How much education does your wife have?

A. My wife has only a second grade education.

Q. Does she speak, read, or write English?

A. She doesn't read or write English. She speaks English about as I do. (ED. Note: This is quite good, considering he had only been using English for about three years.)

Q. How about your children -- do they speak English?

A. Only my oldest child who started school last year speaks English.

Q. What do you think about the schools?

A. I think that the schools are pretty good -- except for the migrant schools. My child didn't learn anything in the migrant schools.

Q. What specific things could be done to improve the migrant schools?

A. (Hesitation) May I answer that question later?

Q. What can be done to help migrant people as machines take over farm labor?

A. If industry would go south over in the valley in Texas, that would be one solution. But we need more. Education is needed. We need programs for Mexican-Americans to learn English so that they can communicate.

Q. Will migrants go to night classes?

A. Would you, after working in the fields under the sun all day? They would go to day schools if they would get money for going. I got $2.40 per hour for going during the winter months. The farmers were against the Federal programs paying migrants to go to school because they want the money

to go only to them. They get all these subsidies, but resent anything at all going to the migrants.

Q. Do you have any Anglo friends?

A. I have two Anglo friends. The majority are Mexican-Americans.

Q. What is the saddest thing that has happened to you?

A. When one of my sons was sick, he was not accepted in a hospital because I had no money.

Q. When did you last see your parents?

A. I haven't seen my brother or my parents in eight months.

Q. How do the Mexican-Americans in Laredo and all of the valley look on the migrants?

A. They think that they are superior to the migrants. This is especially true among the ones who have gone to college.

At the conclusion of the interview, the subject stepped to the front of the platform. The following is his personal message to the Teacher Corps Rural-Migrant interns, who were participants in High Intensive Language Training in Spanish.

"I hope you feel strongly for the Mexican-Americans because they need your help. I hope you're not going to just learn to speak Spanish and then disappear because the Mexican-Americans need you. You are the ones who never told me how to speak English and so I had to learn by myself. Thank you."

Summary of Interview #2

The subject is the father of three children who lives in Cutler, California. He was born in Mexico where his father did farm work. He was 18 years old when he first came to the United States in 1950 with a bracero group. He spoke no English when he came, but he can now make himself understood. He didn't go to school in Mexico very much and he cannot read or write English very well. He went back to Mexico a few times after his arrival here.

He has worked for different persons in this country. He worked in one place for eight years and earned $1.00 to $1.20 an hour on that job. The work was on a turkey ranch and he worked about twelve hours a day. He lived in the town and bought a house. He was asked if he had trouble getting a mortgage and he answered that the house cost $8,000 including the interest and he bought it from the company.

Q. Do you want your children raised in the U.S. or do you want to go back to Mexico?

A. It is best in the United States.

Q. Where would you like your children to go to school?

A. Here, because they are citizens.

Q. Are you planning to become a citizen?

A. Maybe. It's difficult. I'd like it. (The subject lapsed into Spanish to better express himself.)

Q. Did your father go to school?

A. I don't know. He died when I was 13.

Q. Did your step-father?

A. He probably didn't have much school.

Q. How do the bosses treat you?

A. Different kinds of treatment. Sometimes the foreman is worse than the boss. Sometimes he is Spanish and sometimes he is Anglo.

Q. Which are rougher?

A. Sometimes the Mexican is rougher.

Q. Do you think the schools here will be good for your children?

A. I think the schools are all right.

Q. What do you think your children will be if they get educated?

A. Something different from me. Something real important.

Q. What would you like your son to be?

A. I don't know. Maybe he would like one profession. When he starts to school maybe he will get an idea.

Q. Do you think your children will go to college?

A. I think it is pretty hard with a father like me. Work is not steady.

Q. What is the saddest think in life for you?

A. (Translated from Spanish to English) I haven't stopped to think about it because the more you think about it the sadder it will become. If I stopped to think about it -- maybe my inability to work. But I haven't stopped to think about it because it's like death. If you stop to think about it, it is possible that you may die.

Q. What makes you happiest?

A. A good job and good health. I tried to change my job but this is very hard to do in a small town.

Q. Do you think you will improve your English by going to school?

A. Yes -- well, it's pretty hard. I want to read more and to write.

Q. What else would you like to do by getting more schooling?

A. I don't know yet. I tried to get a job, but it's still hard.

Q. Do you like going to school?

A. Sure I do. It's my first choice. I like school.

Q. Does your wife like school?

A. I don't know. She was born here and speaks English. She doesn't go to school because of three small children.

Q. What is the best job you have had?

A. I don't know.

Q. What is a job you have in mind?

A. I don't know. Experience is a help. Any kind of steady job.

Q. How long have you had a steady job?

A. Eight years.

Q. How does the boss treat you?

A. All right. It's different with the foreman. He's pretty rough.

Q. How do you think Mexican people are treated in California? Have you ever been discriminated against?

A. No. I find good people. Anyway, you are a little bit different because you don't speak the language.

Q. How about friends?

A. I have Mexican and Gringo friends.

Q. Do Gringo friends visit you at home?

A. Only one family visits. Sometimes we can't talk and just sit.

Q. What is the biggest problem people from Mexico face in the United States?

A. It is hard to understand or make someone understand you.

"When I get a better job, a permanent job --" is the constant theme through this interview. The subject has earned up to $4800 a year, but thinks his income is lower this year because he hasn't worked as much. When asked how he spends most of his money, he answered that he spent it in his house, to pay bills, and to pay government income tax.

Summary of Interview #3

The subject is a male college student at College of the Sequoia. He has completed 29 units. He comes from Texas. Five brothers and sisters and his parents still live in Texas. He served in the Marines in 1959 and now lives with relatives in Visalia.

He said it is harder to finish school in Texas because the three winter months there are so bad that parents take their children out of school, in order to get more money for the family. There are no tuition-free junior colleges and no opportunity for advancement. Many parents are not interested in higher education for their children because the child must be a wage earner. Education for girls is not of benefit to the family because girls leave their own family when they marry. Therefore, if a family gives a girl the opportunity for a good education, her immediate family is not the beneficiary, in terms in future income she may bring to them.

In response to questions regarding the militancy of youth, he felt that there was no reason to complain in the Visalia area, since Mexican-Americans are treated fairly well. Most of the time, he said, the kids are wrong because they don't obey the rules.

Q. Have you been aware of discrimination against Mexican-Americans in Visalia?

A. I don't feel there is discrimination here, compared to Texas and the rest of the south.

Q. What do you think of MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association)?

Q. MAPA is a good organization if the leaders stay "within their boundaries."

Q. What do you mean by boundaries?

A. I mean voter education and campaigning for Mexican-Americans who run for public office.

Q. What do you think about school programs for Mexican-Americans?

A. The schools do not do a good job of educating the migrant workers' children. They have a daily class schedule. The migrants fall behind and the teacher ignores them because she can't stop the progress of the class for five or six migrants.

Q. What happens to those migrant children?

A. Eventually the kids are promoted because they get too big. They can't do the work in the next grade and finally they just give up trying to catch up.

Q. What will you be doing five years from now?

A. I hope to have a degree and be working. I want a degree in civil engineering.

Q. Where did you get the money for college?

A. I am working part-time to put myself through school.

Q. Are you doing installment buying?

A. I try not to. I don't want to put myself in a position that will cause me to have to drop school.

Q. How much college have you completed?

A. I am now in my sophomore year. I use my summar savings for starting school in the fall.

Q. What do you do in your spare time?

A. Spare time is for sleep.

Q. Why did you choose this way of life instead of the pattern of following the crops.

A. I hate picking cotton.

Q. What is the saddest think in your life?

A. The saddest think is being broke.

Q. What gives you the most pleasure in life?

A. My biggest job is going to school.

The interviewee said his father had no education at all and speaks very little English. His mother also speaks little English, but she went through the second grade and reads and writes a little for the father. When questioned about his changes in attitudes and orientations from when he was a child, he responded that he had never thought of that. He was presenting to the interviewer the picture of a typical American struggling to work his way through college.

Questioned as to whether life is a matter of luck or making one's own luck, he answered that it is a matter of how much gumption you have. Here in the United States a person has maximum opportunity. He said that as he was becoming more educated he was growing away from strong religious ties.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WORKSHEET

SCALES FOR SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS

Horacio Ulibarri

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

LIFE HISTORIES OF ADULT MIGRANT WORKERS

I. Family

A. Paternal Family

1. Place of subject's birth.
2. Number of siblings in subject's paternal family.
3. Subject reared with father and mother or in other circumstances.
4. Education of subject's father and mother.
5. Occupation of father and mother or guardians.
6. Description of peer group.
7. Type of residence and area of residence.
8. Subject's father's ambitions for him and for other siblings.
9. Fondest remembrances of family life.
10. Most traumatic or saddest memories of family life.
11. Father's and mother's deaths. Attempt to get descriptive circumstances.

B. Subject's Own Family

1. When married.
2. Number of children.
3. Number in school.
4. Number out of school, but who are of school age.
5. Number married. Attempt to get description of relationship between subject's family and married children's families.
6. Subject's desires for the children.
7. How many help support the family.
8. Health status of subject and other family members; medical care obtained or sought.

II. Education

A. Subject's Educational History

1. Number of grades completed.
2. Last date of school attendance.
3. Kinds of schools attended.
4. Subject's impression of teachers.
5. Subject's desire for more education; what type.
6. Fondest memories of school.
7. Most traumatic experiences.
8. Best teacher.
9. Worst teacher.

B. Attitudes Towards Education

1. Level of educational attainment desired for children.
2. Subject's impression of education and for whom (distinguish between male or female).
3. Subject's impression of the schools which his children are attending; of the teachers and school administration.
4. Changes subject would like to have made in the schools.
5. Subject's impression of the summer schools in the camps.

III. Work History

A. Skills

1. Types of jobs the subject has held in his lifetime.
   a. Type of job and tenure.
   b. Approximate earnings in each job (by the hour or salarywise).
2. Skills the subject has that he has not used ever or for long in earning a living.
3. Main sources of income.

B. History of Migratory Work

1. Chronology of subject as migratory worker.
   a. Chronological order of streams followed.
   b. Working and living conditions.
   c. Transportation and moving experiences.
   d. Exploitation experienced.
2. Subject's desire to remain in the stream or to leave it.

C. Income

1. Sources.
   a. Migratory work.
   b. Other types of work.
   c. Welfare (e.g., commodities, unemployment compensation, DPW, and so forth).
2. Subject's attitude towards persons who earn more than what they can use.

D. Spending Patterns

1. Credit buying.
   a. Amount.
   b. Length of time between settling of accounts.
2. Savings.
   a. Amount saved during summer.
   b. Clothing and other necessities bought during period of employment for use during period of unemployment.
   c. Other items bought during the summer.

3. Spendings.
    a. Bulk of spending went for what type of items.
    b. Period of bulk of spending (e.g., during working season or extended through the year).
    c. Place for buying groceries during working period.
    d. Place for buying food at present.
    e. Types of

E. Recreation

F. Types of Help Programs

IV. View of the Social Order

A. Self-image

B. Image of other Spanish-speaking who are not migrants

C. Image of the Anglo

D. Politics

V. Descriptive Characteristics

A. Personal

B. Family

C. Home

D. Community

APPENDIX II

SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL

CHARACTERISTICS

Subject_____

	Religion	Family	Education-Adults	Education Children	Health	Earning	Spending	Politics	Recreation
1. Reward Expectation									
2. Self-Projection									
3. Dominance-Subordinance									
4. Aggression-Passivity									
5. Self-Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction									
6. Achievement-Failure									
7. Confidence-Fear									
8. Involvement-Apathy									
9. Universalism-Particularism									
10. Familism-Individualism									
11. Cosmopolitism-Ethnocentrism									
12. Active Discrimination									
13. Passive Discrimination									

SCALE FOR SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Reward Expectation

1. All rewards will come in the future.
2. Long-range, well-planned rewards are expected.
3. Medium to short-range in expectation of future rewards.
4. Immediate reward expectations.
5. Immediate reward expectations, but wishing to be able to get rewards that were available in the past.
6. Present rewards less worthy than past ones.
7. Rejection of present rewards; not capable of accepting rewards after they have been earned.

3. Dominance-Subordinance

1. Complete master of own destiny; nothing can overpower me.
2. Through manipulation of situation, circumstances can be altered to be made beneficial.
3. Some things in life can be directed, but many cannot.
4. No concern-awareness of dominance-subordinance factor; some things can be manipulated, some cannot.
5. Most things (important ones, e.g., health, death, poverty)--masters of one's destiny and only minor things can be altered.
6. Destiny--overpowering in most things in life; it is better to resign oneself than to fight it.
7. Destiny--the complete master and will overpower me.

4. Aggression-Passivity

1. Authoritarian.

2. Aggression in action.

3. Aggression or extroversion in speech.

4. Equal aggression and passivity, but in a socially acceptable manner; no concern/awareness for factor.

5. Timidity in 'speaking out;' avoids situation.

6. Timidity in action, e.g., job seeking, defending one's rights; escapes situation.

7. Total submission to will of others -- perhaps, also to non-authority figures.

5. Self-Satisfaction--Dissatisfaction

1. Complete satisfaction; no 'buts' nor 'even thoughs' present.

2. Satisfaction; 'even thoughs' present; subject feels that some things could have been better.

3. Basic satisfaction; 'even though' many hardships and tribulations were encountered in life.

4. Both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Healthily introspective.

5. Dissatisfaction, because of hardships and tribulations in life. Deprivation. Satisfied because of ignorance.

6. Dissatisfaction/bitterness; too many things beyond subject's control went wrong.

7. Persecution complex.

6. Achievement--Failure

1. Obsession with achieving more and more.
2. Much achievement accomplished but wanting to improve.
3. Satisfaction with present level of achievement, but small and positive incentive to improve.
4. Satisfaction with present level of achievement; ability to accept failure realistically.
5. Feeling that nothing more can be achieved or improved; exhaustion of potential.
6. Ashamedness of not having achieved.
7. Strong feeling of unworthiness; self-blaming.

7. Confidence--Fear

1. Extreme confidence.
2. Confidence.
3. Confidence, with few concerns.
4. Security balanced with concern.
5. Concern, with some fear.
6. Fear.
7. Excessive fear.

8. Apathy--Involvement

1. Hyper-involvement.
2. Diffused involvement.
3. Over-involvement; diminishing success.
4. Successful involvement within limits of potential.
5. Apathy to some problems; some successful involvement.
6. Apathy to most problems; little involvement.
7. Apathy; no involvement.

9. Universalism--Particularism

1. Complete universalism; minor details of any situation unimportant.
2. Universalism; minor details of any situation less important than universal; but many of them are very important.
3. Universalism, with consciousness that universals exist only because of the particulars.
4. Lack of consciousness of particulars or universals.
5. Particulars--very important; concern for details but universals are still present.
6. Particulars--very important; universals become dim.
7. Particulars--the only important factors; universals completely lost.

10. Familism--Individualism

1. Complete submission in extended family.
2. Concern for and/or dependence upon extended family or collaterals.
3. Concern for and/or dependence upon nuclear family, next of kin and distant relatives.
4. Concern for and/or dependence upon nuclear family, plus first-degree relatives.
5. Concern for and/or dependence upon nuclear family, awareness/uneasiness about large family.
6. Concern for dependents only.
7. Complete egocentrism.

11. Cosmopolitism--Ethnocentrism

1. Ultra-cosmopolitism--dilettante.
2. Successful relations with all social and ethnic groups.
3. Successful relations with groups of his social class and/or ethnic background.
4. Successful relations with only those of his ethnic background in his social class.
5. Successful relations with primary and secondary groups of his ethnic background.
6. Successful relations only with those primary groups of his ethnic background.
7. Successful relations with very small number of individuals of his ethnic background.

12. Active Discrimination

1. Intolerance of those who are discriminatory.
2. Fighting discrimination.
3. Personal avoidance of discriminatory practices.
4. Respectful of groups different than one's own.
5. Personal discrimination practices.
6. Open and/or vicious discrimination practices.
7. Intolerance of those who do not discriminate.

13. Passive Discrimination

1. Unrealistic rejection of idea of discrimination.
2. Slight or no awareness of discrimination towards group or self; slightly stronger towards group than towards himself.
3. Some awareness of discrimination (perhaps subtle type) towards group or self; slightly more intensive towards group than towards self.
4. Realistic awareness of discrimination; not defensive.
5. Awareness of discrimination at social level; becoming defensive.
6. Very strong awareness of open and strong discrimination against self and group; very defensive.
7. Discrimination is universal; distorted perspective.